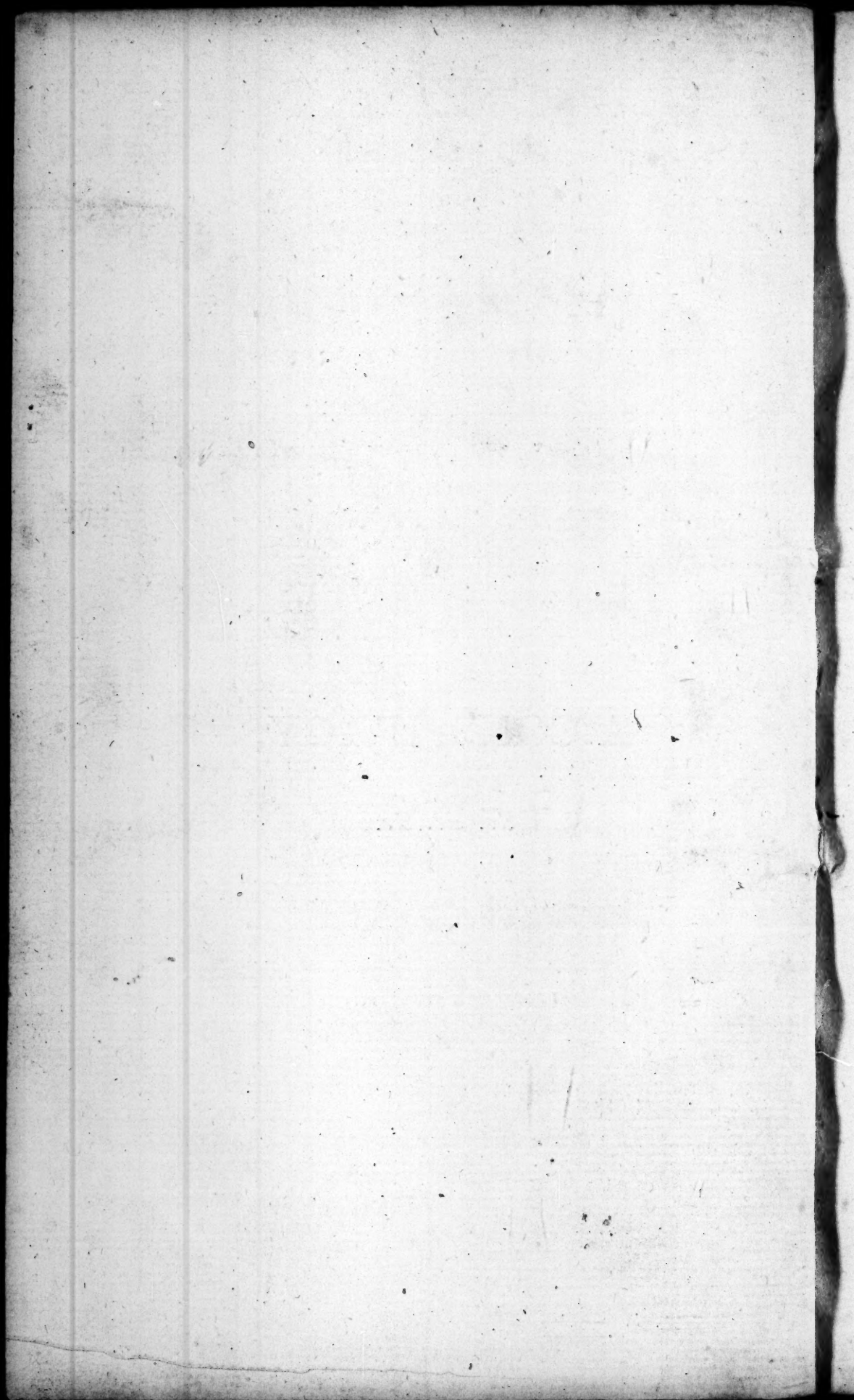

DETECTION
OF
A CONSPIRACY,

&c. &c. &c.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.



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DETECTION
OF
A CONSPIRACY
FORMED BY
THE UNITED IRISHMEN:
With the evident intention of
AIDING THE TYRANTS OF FRANCE
In subverting the Government of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY PETER PORCUPINE.

LONDON;
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Wolcott fund



DETECTION
OF A
CONSPIRACY
FORMED BY THE
UNITED IRISHMEN.

IT has long been thought, that the French have formed a regular plan for organizing an active and effective force within these States; and I am persuaded, that after what I am now going to lay before the public shall have been read with attention, few people will be so blind as not to perceive that this opinion was well founded. The Parisian Propagande have, in every country that they wished to ruin, found villains in abundance ready to engage in their service. The ambitious they have allured by the prospect of power, and the needy by that of pillage. In America there is less ambition and less poverty than in most other countries, and, therefore, though some traitors have been found amongst them, the *natives* were not much to be relied on, in the prosecution of any design, evidently hostile to the interests and honour of their country. They might be deceived, they might be duped, to lend their aid indirectly to some such design; but no man, who is led on in the dark, can be safely confided in; because, at the first dawn of

light, it is a thousand to one but he makes his retreat.

The French seem to have been fully aware of this. Indeed, they learnt this truth from the mortifying defection of the AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. There were many well-meaning men, who became members of these seditious meetings from ignorance, and who discovered no inconsiderable zeal in propagating their principles; but, as soon as the bandage was torn from their eyes, and they perceived the real views of DALLAS* and the other leaders, they turned their backs on them with detestation.

This lesson induced the French to exert their "*diplomatic skill*" in choosing instruments more fit for their purpose. Ignorance, when allied with honesty, was no tool for them to work with. Real, sincere villainy, then, without property, without principles, without country, and without character; dark and desperate, unnatural and blood-thirsty ruffians; these were what they wanted; and where could they have sought them with such certainty of success, as amongst that restless, rebellious tribe, the emigrated UNITED IRISHMEN? The wretches known by this name had escaped from their country to avoid a punishment justly due to their crimes. *Here* they expected to find an organized system of perpetual anarchy; the needy

* This wretch, who was the tool of GENET in forming the Democratic Societies here, has been mentioned, in a London periodical work, as a witness to disprove Mr. HARPER's assertion respecting Genet's threat to *appeal to the people* from their government. — The people in London do not know DALLAS, or no man there would have the impudence to oppose his *oath* to Mr. Harper's *bare word*. But, besides the immense difference in the credibility of the two men, Mr. Harper is an independant gentleman, while Dallas was, and is, the *stipendiary lawyer for France*. His living, in a great measure, depends on the salary he receives from that source, and this appointment he had just received from GENET at the time that he gave his contradictory testimony. — He is a Creole.

anticipated a life of laziness and plunder; the ambitious thought to grasp on power already moulded to their hands; and all counted upon a state of things, congenial to their own wicked dispositions.

Happily for us, they were deceived. They found a government, which, if too weak (like their own) to punish conspirators according to their deserts, was yet too sturdy to fall prostrate at their feet. They found property protected from their fraternizing clutches; they saw their hopes of political consequence vanish like a dream; and, instead of caresses, condolence and applause, from the people, they met with the same virtuous abhorrence that had followed them from the shores of their native land.

Thus disappointed, thus mortified, thus humbled and disgraced, it was not to be wondered at, that they conceived a hatred against America equal to that which they entertained against their own country, and it is still less to be wondered at, that they enrolled themselves in the treacherous service of France.

The first notice I had of the existence of a Society of United Irishmen *here*, was by a printed paper (a copy of which the reader will see by-and-by) dated the 18th December last, and signed Js. REYNOLDS. It was enveloped in a piece of paper addressed to me, and was left by an unknown hand, at the house of a person in Market-Street. It was on the 16th of January that I received this paper; and, in about three weeks afterwards, the Plan of the Conspiracy was conveyed to me through the same channel.

This *Plan*, which is called a *Constitution*,* is printed in a small octavo pamphlet, bearing date

* This is the age of *constitutions*. Amongst the followers of PAINE they will doubtless continue fashionable things; but, when

he 8th of August last. The title page imports, that it was printed at Philadelphia for the society; but the printer's name is very cautiously omitted. The person who enclosed me the pamphlet has, indeed, written in the margin the name of a printer, who, from the villanous publications which have already come from his press, I make no doubt was really the man; but this evidence is too weak for me to proceed upon in publishing his name to the world, as guilty of an offence, which amounts to treason against the United States.—Here follows the *Plan of the Conspiracy*.

*DECLARATION and CONSTITUTION of the
AMERICAN SOCIETY of UNITED IRISH-
MEN.—Philadelphia, printed for the Society,
August 8, 1797.*

DECLARATION.

Six hundred years have past, since division and fraud reduced Ireland to colonial subserviency; the division of her people has ever since subjected them to the lash and to the goad of a foreign tyranny; a tyranny more odious than Asiatic despotism.

In our day and generation we have seen and we have felt. It is not necessary; there is not now time coolly to count over the long black catalogue of her baleful wrongs. There is not now time to argue and complain. THIS IS THE TIME TO ACT. To act with energy we must act with union. Irish-

the dark scheme of conspirators takes the name, I think it is time for sensible and honest men to cease making use of it to express a mode of government.

men are united at home, we will not be disunited abroad.

Our love for freedom has not been lessened by what we have experienced of its effects, or for Ireland by our distance. Under the sacred influence of devotion to the UNION, EQUALITY AND LIBERTY of ALL MEN, we gladly embrace the solemn ties by which we wish to be bound to one another, and hereby form ourselves into an association, under the name of "THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN," adopting the following

CONSTITUTION.

[The declared intention of procuring "*Equality and Liberty to ALL men*," is a clear proof Ireland alone was not in their view. But, as we go on, we shall perceive that neither country nor its concerns are at all included in the objects of these people. The words *Ireland, Irishmen, &c.* are mere substitutes for other words, like the cant of the pick-pockets, according to which a *hog* means a *shilling*, a *pig*, *sixpence*, and so on. This will clearly appear from the articles and TEST of the precious constitution.]

Section 1. That ALL SUCH PERSONS, and such only, shall be eligible to this Society of United Irishmen, as shall have suffered in the cause of freedom, or who, by their zeal for THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND, shall have rendered themselves distinguished and worthy of attachment and trust.

[Thus, you see, it is not IRISHMEN alone, who are eligible to this Society; but ALL SUCH PERSONS as shall, according to their cant, have suffered in the cause of freedom, or have shewn their zeal for the rights of mankind! In other

words, every scoundrel, of whatever nation, is eligible, provided he has been manacled or transported, or has rendered himself worthy of the gibbet, for some attempt at rebellion or some act of treason, no matter under what government or on what occasion; or, provided his seditious principles are so well known and established as to leave no room to doubt of his attachment to the cause. *Americans*, then, and *Britons*, and *Frenchmen*, and men of every country being eligible to the Society, can any one be silly enough to suppose, that the conspiracy had *Ireland* in view? What had any of these people to do with *Ireland*? But, on the absurdity of this we shall have time to remark by-and-by. Indeed, the TEST itself gives the lie to this cant about Ireland. All that it is necessary to remark on this section is, *that it provides for the admission of every discontented factious man in the United States*: and that the latter part of it is no more than a copy of the qualification clause of the Jacobin Club at Paris, except that the latter required positive proof from every new member of his having *actually committed some crime deserving the halter*, while our more liberal conspirators, thinking it unjust to exclude a villain merely because he has failed of success, are willing, in some cases, to admit the *intention* as equal in merit to the *deed*.

Section 2. That no person shall be proposed for admittance but by a member in his place.

Section 3. That no proposition for the admittance of a member shall be received, unless it be seconded by another member present; and that it shall likewise be necessary for the proposer and seconder to vouch for the moral character and civism of the person proposed; in defect of which no election shall take place.

Section 4. Members shall have the privilege of proposing or seconding the proposal of candidates, in any Section, as well as that to which they belong.

Section 5. A candidate proposed agreeable to the 2d, 3d, and 4th Sections, shall not be ballotted for, until the next meeting after that in which he has been proposed, unless known to two-thirds of the members present, (two black beans to reject without a reason, and one with reasons), but, upon his election, he shall be immediately admitted, under the following forms :—

Section 6. Before a person elected shall be considered a member, the President shall put to him the following questions: an affirmative to the 1st, 5th and 6th, and a negative answer to the 2d, 3d, and 4th, shall be indispensable to admission as such :

Section 7. I. Do you believe a free form of government, and uncontrouled opinion on all subjects, to be the common rights of all the human species ?

II. Do you think the people of Ireland are in possession of these rights ?

III. Do you think the government of Great Britain ever was, or is now disposed, to acknowledge, or assent, to the freedom of Ireland ?

IV. Do you think Great Britain ought, of right, to govern Ireland ?

V. Are you willing to do all that in you lies to promote the emancipation of Ireland, and the establishment of a republican form of government there ?*

* These two questions, 4 and 5, are well worth the attention of the reader, particularly if he be an Irishman. The answer to question 4, is to be in the *negative*, and that to question 5, in the *affirmative*; consequently, the initiated swears, "that he does *not* think that Great Britain ought to govern Ireland; and, that he will do the utmost in his power for the establishment of a republican form of government there."—Now, mark. When these

VI. Are you willing to bind yourself, by a solemn obligation, to the principles you have acknowledged?

Section 8. That upon the candidate answering these questions, as required by the sixth section, the following shall be administered as a test, all present standing:

TEST.

I A. B. in the presence of the SUPREME BEING do most solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, promote the emancipation of Ireland from the tyranny of the British Government.—That I will use the like endeavours for encreasing, and perpetuating, the warmest affection among all religious denominations of men, and for the attainment of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, TO MANKIND, IN WHATEVER NATION I MAY RESIDE. Moreover, I do swear, that I will, as far as in me lies, promote the interest of this, and every other Society of United Irishmen, and of each of its members—and that I will never, from fear of punishment, or hope of reward, divulge any of its SECRETS given to me as such.

Section 8. That the TEST of this Society, the INTENTION of this INSTITUTION, (in all other respects than as a social body, attached to freedom,) be considered as SECRET AND IN-

miscreants were in Ireland, they were seditious to be sure; but, they never openly avowed their intentions. On the contrary, they wished, they said, to preserve the essence of the British Constitution; this constitution they were everlastingly extolling; they frequently expressed the warmest attachment to his Majesty; and when they were called *Republicans*, and told that their intention was to effect a separation from the sister kingdom, they called it a "*gross slander*"!! This has been the constant practice of all the run-away patriots, from PRIESTLEY to REYNOLDS. Surely, such proofs of their duplicity must in time open the eyes of their deluded adherents!

VIOLABLE in all cases, but between members, and in the body of the Society.

Section 9. That nevertheless, a member of the Society shall not be considered as divulging its secrets, who shall propound to persons, disposed to become members, the sense of the six propositions which *precede the test*.

[Here we see that Ireland is almost dropped out of sight. It is just mentioned in order to keep up the cant; but the initiated is to swear, that he will do the utmost of his power for the attainment of **LIBERTY and EQUALITY, to MANKIND, IN WHATEVER NATION HE MAY RESIDE!** Ireland, therefore, if not totally dismissed by the **TEST**, is no more contemplated by it than America is, taking the words in their literal sense: and we shall see in the sequel, that this blessed liberty and equality is intended for America alone.

The criminality of the purpose and end of the combination is most amply proved by the section that immediately follows the **TEST**.—"The **TEST** of this Society and the **INTENTION** of the institution shall be kept **SECRET** and **INVIOLABLE**."—The members may tell the world that it is a "*social body* attached to freedom;" that is, they may give out that its principles are friendly to general liberty; they may represent it as one of those collections of individuals that men of sense usually laugh at, but they must not say a word about the **INTENTION** of the institution, nor must they discover the nature of the **OATH**.

Now, if nothing more were meant than an association against *the government of Great Britain*, which they must well know would excite contempt and ridicule, why all this *secrecy*? Why conceal the nature of the oath? and, particularly, why conceal the *intention* of the institution?

By the 9th section we see, that the discoveries, made even to those who offer themselves as members, are to extend no farther than "the sense of the six propositions *preceding* the TEST." The Test itself they are to know nothing of, 'till they have gone too far to retreat, and then they are bound not to divulge what they have learnt. First, the initiated member swears, that he "will never, from *fear of punishment*, or *hope of reward*, divulge any of the *secrets* given to him as such?" and then the INTENTION of the institution is immediately given to him as one of those *inviolable secrets*! If there were nothing wicked, nothing highly criminal, nothing dark and traiterous in this INTENTION, why is the discovery of it thus guarded against? Men never "*fear punishment*" for concealing what is not criminal. Indeed, this TEST stamps the character of the combination: a Test of secrecy, as to the *motives* of the members, is essential to a conspiracy; and it is that which distinguishes this society from "*a social body*," which is the character they wish to appear under in the eyes of the world.

Here again we perceive the plan to be little more than a copy of that of the Jacobin club in France. The *Christian Religion* is discarded, and the initiated wretch swears by the "SUPREME BEING." Next *Liberty and Equality to mankind* is the object, *in whatever country they may reside*; the world are to be told, that the society is merely a *social body*; but its real INTENTION is to be kept a secret under the most solemn injunctions. Thus proceeded the Jacobins at Paris, that *social body* who overturned the government of France. PLAYFAIR says, they had *two creeds*, one to *amuse the public*, and another that, for a long time, was known but to the members.

The oath of secrecy necessarily forbids a communication of one of the pamphlets containing the TEST, &c. The person who made this communication to me must, therefore, have broken his oath, or must have purloined the pamphlet. I rather think the former; because, had he not thus committed himself, were it not that he was ashamed to own himself one of the conspirators, and, at the same time, incurred the odium of having betrayed his companions, it is pretty clear, that, possessing an inclination to make the discovery, he would long ago have come forward as the instrument of an effectual prosecution. He tells me in a note, which covered one of the papers, that he has *found a clue* to all their secrets, and, as I before observed, he writes down the name of the printer in the margin. This latter circumstance was enough; for, if the printing could be proved, or if it can be proved now, the printer, at least, can be punished as a conspirator, and this may lead to a discovery of his employers.

Having thus remarked on the design of the conspirators, I should now come to the means provided for *insuring its success*, by which the reader will at least see the extent of the plan, and will be fully convinced that its real object is the destruction of the American Government.]

Section 10. The member thus initiated shall subscribe his name to the constitution, and pay to the treasurer, half a dollar.

Section 11. The monthly subscription of each member shall be a quarter of a dollar; payable on the first meeting in every month: if the member be elected after the twentieth of any month, he shall pay no more than his fee of initiation for that month.

Section 12. If any member neglect to pay the respective sums before mentioned, for the space of three months, the secretary of his section shall then signify, in writing to the member, the amount of the arrears, and demand payment, and that in default thereof, his name and the sum due, shall be publicly read by the treasurer of the section to which he may belong, on the three next succeeding meetings thereof, and if his arrears be not paid on the third reading, he shall be excluded the Society. But excluded members, upon paying all arrears due, and the usual contributions that were payable during his exclusion, may apply for admission, agreeable to the usual form. Provided, nevertheless, that this rule shall not extend to such members as shall declare their inability to pay, in reply to the secretary, in an authentic form, and where local circumstances may render their attendance impossible, or highly inconvenient.

Section 13. Any person elected by ballot, who shall not attend three successive meetings after his election, shall forfeit it, unless due cause be shewn to the proper section for his absence.

Of the Officers of Sections.

Section 1. There shall be a president and secretary for each section elected, by ballot, who shall continue in office *six weeks*—they shall be re-eligible after a period equal to that, during which they were in office.

Section 2. That a treasurer shall be appointed by ballot, who shall continue in office for *three months*, and shall not be re-eligible until the expiration of three months.

Section 3. The secretary shall have power, at the desire of the President, to convoke *extra meetings*.

Section 4. Each Section shall meet *weekly*, or oftner in special cases.

Section 5. The hours of meeting shall be at *seven o'clock* from the 25th September till 25th March, and at eight from the 25th March till 25th September.

Section 6. The chair shall be taken at the above hours precisely, if there shall be ten members present.

Section 7. That in the absence of the President, or any other officer, the Section shall call a member to the office, *pro tem*.

Section 8. That upon the President taking the chair, he shall direct the secretary to read the minutes of the preceding meeting.

Section 9. The Roll shall be called previously to every adjournment.

Section 10. That balloting for, and the nomination, or initiation of candidates, shall precede further business.

Section 11. That on open votes the President shall have a casting voice, and when he speaks to a motion, he shall vacate the chair.

Section 12. That every motion shall be made standing, shall be delivered to the President or Chairman in writing, if required; must be seconded by another member, also standing, before it shall be received by the President; any matter of peculiar importance shall first be debated in a committee of the whole.

Section 13. The mover of a question shall have liberty to speak in reply; but no other shall speak more than once, but in explanation on the same subject, except in a committee of the whole.

Section 14. In matter of order, the President or Chairman shall decide finally.

Section 15. That in each section a committee shall be appointed to select *extracts from political works*, to be read occasionally.

Section 16. That fines shall be levied for disorderly behaviour, but not exceeding fifty cents each, which fine shall be nominated by the President or Chairman; and in case of appeal, be decided by the majority of members present.

Section 17. No person shall interrupt the Chairman or any other member while speaking, unless to the point of order; repetition of interruption, contrary to this rule, to subject the disorderly member to such censure, besides a fine, as the society shall think fit. Extreme disorderly behaviour shall subject the offender to expulsion, at the will of three-fourths of the members present.

Section 18. A member absenting himself from his section three nights successively, (without acquainting it of the cause in writing, or by means of another member, who shall declare upon his *honour*, that he is authorised by such member, to make an apology for him, and offering some sufficient reason for his absence) shall be liable to a fine of fifty cents, and on refusing to pay such fine shall not be entitled to vote in his section, or transact any other duty in the society until he shall have paid his fine.

Of Certificates.

Section 1. CERTIFICATES shall be provisionally granted to members of the society removing from their vicinage, which shall be signed by the President and Secretary of the section to which the members belong.

Section 2. A member going to a foreign country, or to a distant part of the United States, shall give a *week's notice of his intention*, but in urgent cases, the *committee of secrecy*, of his section, may grant such certificate.

Section 3. No member is entitled to a certificate, but in the foregoing cases.

Section 4. That members, on their return, must re-deliver their certificates to the President or Secretary, in the presence of the section to which they belong.

Of an Enlarged Organization.

Section 1. THAT when any section shall consist of eighty members in a city or large town, it shall separate into two sections: *country sections* may separate as their peculiar circumstances may render expedient.

Section 2. That any section, *state committee*, or the *general executive committee*, shall have the power of appointing an *agent* or *agents*, and furnishing him or them with copies of the constitution, for the purpose of *forming new sections*.

Section 3. Each section shall, quarterly, make an exact return of the *numbers, names, residences, and occupation of its members*, to its proper state committee, and the state committee shall make similar returns, at like periods, to the *general executive committee*, who shall keep an exact register of the names thus returned.

Section 4. As soon as there shall be two or more sections in any state of the American Union, they shall be represented in a *State Committee*, in the following manner, viz. when a section shall amount to eight members, they shall send *one Delegate* to said committee: when to twenty-two, two Delegates; and when to thirty-three, three Delegates, who shall not be re-eligible until they have been out of office, for a time, equal to their term of service—two-thirds of whom shall form a quorum. The state committee shall meet monthly, or oftener,

if necessary, and be partially renewed by a member from each section every month.

Section 5. Distant Sections shall have the power of appointing persons to represent them in their respective state committees, from among their brethren whose local situation may render attendance more convenient.

Section 6. Each section shall appoint a committee of secrecy and correspondence, to communicate with the state committee, which shall be regulated in like manner. It shall also elect, every six weeks, a delegate, and *sub-delegate* to attend the meetings of neighbouring sections, and report proceedings.

Section 7. That the secretary of every section shall when a member takes his seat, and subscribes the test, take down his place of residence, which he shall carefully transmit to the *committee of secrecy* thereof, who shall divide the sections into *sub-sections of eight members* who may live contiguous to one another; that every *eighth man* shall have the charge of the other seven members, to warn them in cases of urgency, or to extraordinary meetings of the section: the secret committee or secretary of the section, shall by warning those eighths, consider themselves as warning the whole section.

Section 8. When two or more state committees have been formed, they shall elect two of their members from each to a general executive committee, the first of whom, from each state, shall go out of office by lot, and the rest in rotation, and be replaced by a new member every three months, and not be re-eligible until a period equal to their term of service. *The general executive committee is to possess the direction of the great interests of the whole society, and keep up a constant communication with the committee of the different states.*

Section 9. The general executive committee shall, when their number exceeds four, elect from among

themselves, a committee of secrecy and correspondence, consisting of three members, one of whom shall go out of office every three months, and shall be re-eligible after a period equal to their time of service.

Section 10. The General Executive Committee shall assemble as often as the interests of the institution demand, or when required so to do by the committee of any state.

Section 11. There shall be a Treasurer for each state, to whom the Treasurers of the Sections are to return quarterly payments and accounts. Each of the State Treasurers are, at like periods, to make similar returns to the Treasurer appointed by the General Executive Committee, who is to continue in office three months, and to be accountable to their Committee of secrecy and correspondence; he shall also, if required, exhibit his accounts to the secret committee of any section. The State Treasurer shall be appointed by the State Committee.

Section 12. Every officer, and every member of a committee, is responsible to the body by whom he was elected, and liable to any punishment they may, on account of delinquency, inflict.

Section 13. No person shall be eligible to hold two offices within his respective section.

Section 14. That when the State Committees, or the General Executive Committee, or a majority of the sections recommend a revision of the preceding constitution, it shall take place.

[Now, leaving the mere formalities and other trifling things aside, let us take this plan and look at it in its substance. It is very properly called an "*enlarged organization*," for it embraces an extent no less than that of the whole Union.

First, we see, that every restless wretch, of whatever nation, is admitted into any section of the

society, and has his name, place of residence, &c. enrolled on its list; but, lest the assemblages should become unwieldly, or alarming to the magistrates, these sections when they get to a certain strength, separate, and the detached parts form new ones, just as bees swarm when the hive is over-crowded—The troops being thus enrolled in the sections, the next thing is to render them manageable. Were the sections subjected to no superior command; were they to remain scattered over the country without any common head, they would be like so many independent companies without a commander. But, these troops have not been raised to *lie in idleness*, and, therefore, a mode of uniting their efforts is provided. The sections in every state are to send delegates to form a *State Committee*; and these sixteen State Committees are to send delegates to form a "*General EXECUTIVE Committee*;" and this is the whole brought to one point.

So much for the organization. Now for the operative part of the plan.

"*The General EXECUTIVE Committee*" (which, I have not the least doubt, is now sitting in Philadelphia) keeps up a constant communication with the State-Committees, and from it, the whole Society, or rather *army*, receives "directions" when and how to act. It has returns made to it of the numbers enrolled in each State, of the names, residence, and occupation, of the persons enrolled; by this means it is at all times informed of its strength, and of where that strength lies.

When it is necessary TO ACT, the General Executive Committee are to dispatch their orders to the State Committees; these to their sections, and these again (by their committee of *secrecy*) to their *sub-sections*. Here the orders reach the *active troops*, and that there may be no confusion in their

movements, these *sub-sections* consist of only *eight* men each, all *living near one another*, and one of these eight is a sort of non-commission officer, who (to use the very words of the conspirators) is to "have the *charge* of the other seven, and is to WARN them IN CASES OF URGENCY"!!!

Now, I appeal to any man of common sense, whether this infernal combination can possibly have any other object in view than an insurrection against the government of America. What "*cases of urgency*" can arise *in this country*, what opportunity can offer itself *here*, for *overturning the British Government in Ireland*? Were the villains, indeed, furnished with *wings*; could they like other birds of passage, assemble in a flock and take their flight to Ireland; then the ostensible motive of the association would have something like plausibility about it; but, as they are, this ostensible motive is a palpable absurdity, a mere trick which has been invented in order to inveigle ignorant persons to take the TEST, and, in case of detection, to award the punishment which the law awards to *traitors* and *spies*; or at least, to leave room for doubt and contention in the courts of justice; a bad chance being better than none, and ten years imprisonment better than death.

That this conspiracy is intended *to aid the cause of France*, it is hardly necessary to insist on; every one must perceive it at the first glance.—What can these ragged ruffians expect to do *alone*? How can they alone support their current expences, exclusive of "*cases of urgency*," of arms, ammunition, &c. &c. By an attention to the financial part of their plan, you will perceive, that the money they collect from the members is barely sufficient to defray the charges which must necessarily be incurred for rooms to meet in. Who is to pay for printing their CONSTITUTIONS, their CER-

TIFICATES (which I hear are from an engraved copper plate); who is to pay for the time and travelling expences of all their Delegates from the Sections to the State Committees, and from them to the General Executive Committee at Philadelphia; who is to pay a sum amounting to not less than *forty thousand dollars* annually? Who but those who boast of "*Diplomatic Skill*," and of their "*powerful faction in this country*;" those who have long had in pay the leading *patriots* in Ireland, and who have constantly supported a hireling press in each of the principal Cities of America?

Next, observe that the closest intimacy exists between the sans-culotte French, who are here, the most distinguished of the emigrated United Irishmen, and a base American printer, notoriously in the service of France. Observe too, that NAPPER TANDY went from New York to France, and that the conspiracy, as appears by its date, was not formed, 'till *after we heard of his arrival at Paris*.

The leaders in this conspiracy are the very same persons, who conducted that in Ireland. When a section of their deluded partizans, in that country, were taken unawares by the King's troops, no money but *French* was found upon them, and this in a retired part of the kingdom, where it was impossible these infatuated wretches could have come at through any other channel than that of the despots of Paris and their wicked agents. And, if a conspiracy could be so effectually paid there, in a country at open war with France, with an *alien law*, vigorously enforced, how easy must it be for them to maintain a hired and regularly paid conspiracy here, where there is no check whatsoever to their machinations!

This diabolical plan was formed on the 8th of August last, immediately before the YELLOW FEVER commenced its ravages in this city; with this in his recollection the reader will form his opinion respecting the following, which is a copy of the *printed paper*, before mentioned.

AMERICAN SOCIETY

O F

UNITED IRISHMEN.

WHEN the Society of United Irishmen was formed here, men were found emulous of crouding to the Irish Standard, for the aspect of Ireland then, afforded hope that her wrongs would soon be redressed.—That view so consoling to humanity has for a moment been obscured; but it is not honourable to desert a deserving friend in distress, it is not honourable to abandon a meritorious cause, which, when prosperous we have sworn to support.

The society is happy to find, that there is still reason to think, the fire and the scourge, will not long be exercised over our brethen with impunity, that the tyrannical imprisonments, the rapes, the arsons, the tortures, and the military murders are about to be avenged, and, that a manly people, whom six hundred years slavery could not debase, are about to be restored to their rights.

We have cause to deplore the loss we have sustained by the disease which lately suspended our meetings; and, we are unwilling to ascribe the present neglect of attendance of some members, to unworthy motives—but, it is deemed a duty, to

notify you, that those who in future absent themselves, cannot conformably to the 18th Article of the Constitution, be regarded as belonging to the association.

The next meeting will be held at 7 o'clock on the evening of the 21st instant, in the African School-room, Willing's-alley, which lies between Third, Fourth, Walnut, and Spruce-streets.

Signed by Order of the committee,

Js. REYNOLDS.

Philadelphia, December 18th, 1797.

This is the man, who began his canting letter, respecting his attack on Mr. Pickering, with declaring that he was come *here* in search of "RE-POSE"!!

This notice, I would have the reader believe, I have not published without good proof of its being signed by REYNOLDS, the seeker of "REPOSE." His name is *written*, and the hand writing has not only been carefully compared with the signature to a letter of his, now in my possession; but has also been compared and verified before one of the judges in this city.* All that is now wanted is, good proof of the person who *printed*, or who *authorized printing*, the plan of the conspiracy, which is called the CONSTITUTION, and if any American, *native* or *adopted*, is in possession of the means of producing such proof, and neglects to produce it, he is to all intents and purposes a TRAITOR.†

* Judge PETERS.

† Since writing the above the printer has been discovered, but not before he had fled. A reward ought immediately to be put on his

I shall, now, briefly state, what I have lately gathered respecting the members of which the conspiracy now consists, and respecting the manner in which they are to ACT, and on what occasions. In the mean time, I would have THOSE, in whose power alone it is to counteract the baleful effects of this hellish combination, to recollect, that any ALIEN LAW, which extends only to ALIENS of a *nation committing hostilities on the United States*, will not reach the members of this affiliation.*

I am informed, by one of the persons who manage the affairs of the AFRICAN SCHOOL, that the United Irishmen have not assembled there, for some time past, and that the reason of this was, their number was become *too great* for so small a room. I am also well informed, that two *Englishmen* have been admitted into the Society (I dare say there are two hundred,) and that they earnestly solicited *another Englishman* to join it. Their strength, at this time, in this city and twenty miles round, consists of above *fifteen hundred*; no contemptible number, if we consider how short the space is, since they began to enlist. A *section* has been formed at New-York, another at Baltimore, and another is either formed, or about to be formed,

head, unless he returns, in a short space, and gives up the author. REYNOLDS seems apprehensive of some such event, and is accordingly preparing for his departure.

* While I am writing this note, there is a bill passing through the lower House of Congress, authorizing the president to cause to be seized and sent out of the country, all such *aliens* as have been convicted of *treason* or *sedition* in other countries, or are *known to have fled hither to escape from the hands of justice*.—This is a very wise, and absolutely a necessary measure. Citizen REYNOLDS may probably be forced back again to his offended country, to receive sentence in those courts which he fled from!—All mankind will rise united against these treacherous wretches; they will be driven from shore to shore; the indignant waves will at last hurl them on some desert strand to perish and become food for the fowls of the air. The "*Monthly Review Enlarged*" will doubtless find in their fate, an excellent subject for an elegy.

at Chambersburgh, in this state. Indeed, there is very little doubt, but we shall very soon receive satisfactory information of their being organized in every state, and in every principal city and town in the Union.

With respect to their calling their troops into *actual service*, it is clear that they would proceed in the same manner as the Jacobins in every other country have done. Conspirators are always cowards: besides this, they know too well their weakness to attempt an attack on the Government, unaided by any other party, and unprotected by a foreign power. Their whole business therefore, at present, is, to organize themselves; to enlist and number their troops, and to lie in wait for what they very properly call, "*cases of UR- GENCY.*"

If the "*diplomatic skill*" of France had been exercised with such complete success as the tyrants of that wretched country supposed it was; if it had been found, upon trial, that she possessed a very numerous and formidable faction here entirely devoted to her orders, these "*cases of URGENCY*" might have arisen from internal commotions. This source now seems to be dried up. The dispatches from France have robbed the "Sister Republic" of all her adherents, except the most abandoned and infamous miscreants amongst the Americans, her own sans-culottes, and the half-gibbeted democrats from Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing, then, can give rise to one of those "*cases of UR- GENCY*" short of an invasion by France either from the Spanish territory, or from the sea; and, for an event of this kind the conspirators are now looking with hopes much more sanguine than the wandering seed of Abraham ever looked for the coming of the Messiah.

An invasion on the coast is a thing naturally to be expected, unless an alliance is formed with Great Britain; and from Louisiana or the Floridas is to be expected, whether such an alliance takes place or not. This, then, would be the "*case of URGENCY*," and thus the conspirators would act. Before the first panic would be over, the whole affiliation would be in movement. They would thwart, threaten, or collect mobs; openly oppose, or secretly betray, just as it suited their several situations. They are not visible now, but then they would be seen and felt too. I make no doubt but they have members, in some capacity or other, in every public department. I should not wonder if they had at this time fifty in the different branches of the Post-office. Thus has it proved in every country, which the infamous sans-culottes have invaded with success. In Holland, for instance, few people feared the invaders. The barriers were well fortified, well garrisoned, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, and the people appeared *unanimous* in their hatred of the enemy. But the fortresses fell, nobody could tell how; the French arrived as if it were *by appointment*, and many of those who had been the loudest in their expressions against them, were the first that they took by the hand. These villains had held a correspondence with them, and afterwards made a boast of their treason; the jacobin affiliation ran through all the United Provinces; its members had crept into every department, civil and military; the mine was completed, and, at the approach of the enemy it was sprung. Just so was it in Italy, in Geneva, in Venice; so was it in Switzerland; so will it be in Spain, and so would it have been in Great Britain long ago, had it not been for the valour of her navy, and the watchfulness and vigour of her government.

To the danger of such a conspiracy America is peculiarly exposed. Her *distance from France* is often, and, I must add, very stupidly, held out as a guarantee for her safety. I might insist that there is no barrier between her and the Spanish territory, which nobody would deny; but, waving that, what, without the interference of Great Britain, is there to prevent twenty thousand sans-culottes from landing in this country? And, if they should do this, how many circumstances has America against her which no state in Europe knew any thing of!

From various causes these United States have become the resting place of ninety-nine hundredths of the factious villains, which Great Britain and Ireland have vomited from their shores. They are all schooled in sedition, are adepts at their trade, and they most certainly bear as cordial a hatred to this government as they did to their own. The French sans-culottes now here, capable of bearing arms, amount to at least thirty thousand, all furious ruffians, puffed up with vanity, starving with hunger, and sighing for conquest and pillage.

Great numbers of these wretches, of all countries, are what are called **CITIZENS**; so that no *alien law* will touch them. Several hundreds of French have very lately been admitted to this destructive privilege; and it is well known, that **REYNOLDS** is not only a citizen, but the *political father* of other citizens; for he has been suffered to vouch for their "good moral character and *their attachment to the "Constitution,"* a necessary prelude to their admission,* The penal code has been softened down, till it has no terrors, ex-

* It is said that care is taken in the bill now before Congress, to include all foreigners, whether they have gone through the formalities of *citizenship* or not, if they are *fugitives from justice*, which is the case with **REYNOLDS**, **ROWAN**, &c. &c.

cept for the honest man, who stands in need of *protection*. There are sixteen governments, all in some measure independent of the general government, to whom the safety of the nation is committed, and these sixteen are very far from being all in the hands of such men as would lend their cordial support to that general government. The villain, who would get his neck stretched in the Federal courts, would very probably escape through other hands. In such a state of things, the civil magistrate must hold a blunted, if not a broken, sword; and as to the military, though I would be willing to stake every thing on their *valour*, yet valour alone, without skilful commanders and soldiers well disciplined, is like a razor in the hands of a child.

But, what renders the situation of America more favourable to the views of France than any other country, is the *negro slavery* to the southward. On this it is that the villains ground their hope. It is said, that some of the *free* negroes have already been admitted into the conspiracy of the UNITED IRISHMEN, and that some slave-holders either in Carolina or Virginia have engaged, in "*a case of URGENCY*," to set their negroes free, in order to excite discontents amongst those of their neighbours, and thus involve the whole country in rebellion and bloodshed. I do not take upon me to say that these preparatory steps have been taken, but this I know, that nothing could be thought more hellish or better calculated to insure success.

There are two sorts of people who will *smile* at all this, and will call it a mere bug-bear: these are, the muddy-headed men of indifference and the jacobins themselves. But, I trust the real friends of government will see it in its true light, and will not suffer themselves to be lulled asleep by the songs of Doctor "REPOSE" and his adherents. All that

these people want for the present is, to see the government *quiet*, and unsuspecting. This is what they wished in Great Britain and Ireland. Every precautionary measure of the legislature or the executive; every *inquiry*, however legal, however delicately conducted, they brand with the name of "jealous tyranny;" and, to every honest man, who has the zeal to come forward in the discovery of their infernal plots, they give the appellation of SPY. This has had much influence on weak minds. Your *good-natured peaceable* man cannot bear the name of *spy* or *informer*: he would sooner see his neighbours burnt in their beds, and his own wife and children along with them. I hope, however, that there is yet good sense and spirit enough left amongst us to despise every thing these artful traitors may say, and to defeat every thing they may attempt. The man, who shall bring the leaders of this conspiracy to the halter, will deserve as well of his country as he who shall shed his blood in its defence.

I should here dismiss the subject for the present; but, apprized of the dreadful effects, which the UNITED IRISHMEN have produced in their own country, it is impossible for me to suppress a hope that the above proofs of their dangerous, deceitful, and indefatigable villainy may reach their deluded adherents there; and, should this be the case, there is a remark or two, which it may not be amiss to add, though not necessary on this side the Atlantic.

That the impious and rebellious crew, called the UNITED IRISHMEN, have been organised and are maintained by, and act under the directions of, the savage tyrants of France, every person in Ireland must have had repeated assurances; if, however, there are any who really doubt of this, and are not yet quite dead to conviction, their doubts

must certainly be removed by the evidence, which is now laid before them.,

The perfidious French, who have constantly undermined by their intrigues, before they have dared to hoist their bloody standard, saw, in the associations of WHITE BOYS and VOLUNTEERS, a set of most excellent recruits for a *Jacobin affiliation*, which were very soon and very easily formed, under the name of UNITED IRISHMEN.

Numerous have been the arts by which these nefarious hirelings of France have seduced the ignorant from their attachment to their government and their King. Amongst these, extolling the *liberty* and *happiness* of the people of America has not been the least successful. This liberty, and this happiness, they have held up to their deluded followers as the rich fruits of a successful opposition to the parent country; as the fruit of rebellion, revolution, independence; and, in the style of the modern "JOCKEY OF NORFOLK," they have told them to "*make the application.*"

I could produce many instances of their hypocritical efforts of this sort; but I shall content myself with one, taken from their address to PRIESTLEY, on his departure for America, which I select, because it was signed by the villain REYNOLDS himself.

"You are going," say they, "to a happier world, the world of Washington and Franklin."
 "—Yes! the Volunteers of Ireland still live.
 "They live across the Atlantic! Let this idea
 "animate us in our sufferings, and may the pure
 "principles and genuine lustre of Freedom, reflected from the AMERICAN COASTS, penetrate
 "into our cells and our dungeons!"

After this, who would not have expected to see them satisfied with the government of America?

They assuredly ought to have been contented, or at least *quiet*, when basking under the full blaze of that precious cheering freedom, the reflection of whose rays they so anxiously and piously prayed for. But, how has it turned out?—NAPPER TANDY behaved in such a turbulent manner; he vented such savage abuse on all branches of the government, that he was very soon driven from his lodgings as a monster. People would not remain under the same roof with him; and this, too, when fans-cullotism was far from being obsolete.—HAMILTON ROWAN, in three days after his arrival in the city of Philadelphia, became one of the leaders of a mob of malcontents, assembled on purpose to over-awe General Washington, and deter him from signing the commercial treaty with Great Britain.—REYNOLDS, still more boldly and industriously seditious, after having long contributed to a print in the pay of France, in which the government was daily traduced, published a most false and wicked libel against Mr. PICKERING, the principal Secretary of State, directly accusing him with malversation in his office. The falsehood was proved upon him, and he is now under a criminal prosecution for the offence. Thus, the man, who inhabited Kilmainham jail for seditious practices and contumacy to the House of Lords, in Ireland, can also make shift to get seized by the sheriff in America. And this is the very identical REYNOLDS, too, who, prayed so sincerely for the reflection of the “pure principles and genuine lustre of freedom from the American Coasts!”

Nothing short of a state of rebellion can content these wretches. All governments are to them alike hateful. Like Lucifer, they carry a hell about with them in their own minds; and thus they prowl from country to country. When in Ireland, *reform* was their *stalking horse*. Give them but

universal suffrage, and they would be content. For this they associated; for this they swore; and for this they murdered. — Well, *here* they found it in all its mobbish glory. Here every man, however ignorant, poor, or infamous, had a vote; and every office was elective, from the President to the petty-constable. In fact, they found here every regulation, and every principle of political liberty, which they pretended it was the end of their combination to enforce in their own country; but they did not find here what it was their real wish to effect in Ireland, namely, *a complete subjection to the will of Jacobin France*; and for this reason, and this alone, they have never ceased to manifest their hostility to the government, from the first moment of their landing to the present hour; and they are now just as busy and as indefatigable in the work of rebellion and bloodshed *here*, as ever they were in Ireland.

Miscreants! They have poisoned the domestic harmony of this country, and have for ever blasted the character of their own. The name of *Irishman* is become, and not without reason, detestable in the ears of Americans. Justice, however, forbids us to carry this resentment to any thing like a *general prejudice*. The innocent are never to be condemned with the guilty.

Ireland, owing to a combination of untoward circumstances, offered a favourable prospect to the views of the Jacobins; these circumstances have been improved to the greatest possible extent; but, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous in the extreme, to impute to the whole nation the crimes of the infamous few; crimes in which their fidelity has scorned to participate, and which their zeal and courage have detected and brought to punishment. Sufficiently great is the misfortune to be the coun-

tryman of a traitor, without being loaded with a share of his guilt.

The great body of the Irish, instead of contempt and reproach, merit admiration and applause. They have had greater temptations to resist, and a more formidable conspiracy to combat, than any other people in Europe; yet their loyalty has triumphed, still triumphs, and, I trust, it ever will triumph, over every art and violence, to which it has been or shall be opposed.

THE END.